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THE JEWS OF EASTERN EUROPE

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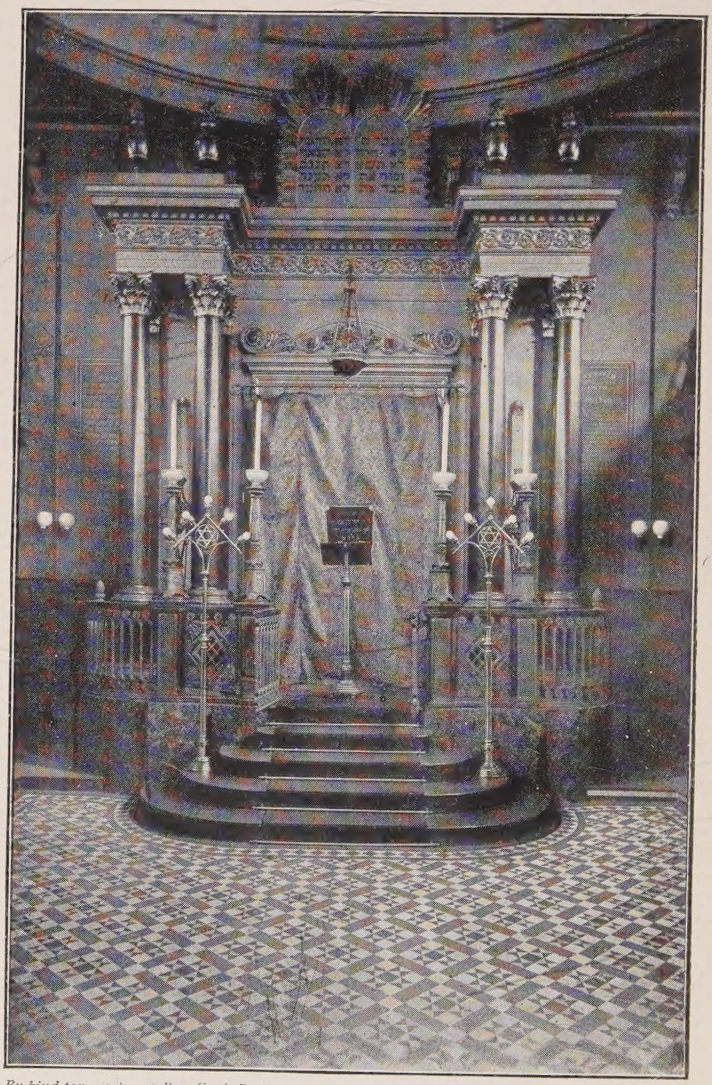

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THE "ARK" (CONTAINING THE SCROLLS OF THE LAW) CLOSED

Frontispiece

JEWISH STUDIES

Edited by A. Lukyn Williams, D.D.

THE JEWS OF EASTERN EUROPE

BY THE REV.

J. H. ADENEY, M.A.

MISSIONARY TO THE JEWS IN ROUMANIA

WITH FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE BY THE EDITOR

No modern nation has taken more interest in the Jews than the English-speaking peoples, none has tried to deal more fairly with them. Yet it cannot be pretended that we English know much about their post-Biblical history, practices, and beliefs, much less that we have studied these in relation to Christianity past and present.

The aim of this series is to do something towards supplying this want. It will endeavour to describe Jews as they have been and as they are, to state and explain the efforts of Christians in past centuries to win them, and the methods used, and both to set out and to weigh their chief doctrines.

Thus gradually but surely a collection of handbooks will be formed, which Jews and Christians alike may use, and each learn to understand better the religion of the other. Naturally the books will be Christian, and because they are Christian will try both to represent Christianity in its proper spirit, and to exhibit it as the supreme truth.

A. LUKYN WILLIAMS.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THIS little book has been written in the intervals of a very busy missionary life in a peculiarly difficult year. This must be its apology for its many imperfections. My most grateful thanks are due to my friend and fellow missionary, Rev. L. Zeckhausen, for his great kindness in reading the proofs and drawing up the index, and to him and the Editor for many most useful suggestions.

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THE JEWS OF EASTERN EUROPE

INTRODUCTION

The train which was speeding us from Berlin to Bucarest in those pre-war days had come to a standstill in the early hours of the morning at Czernowitz in Bukovina. Alongside of us was a train which had come in from the East. The carriages were full of Jews, the Jews of Eastern Europe of the orthodox type, clothed in long kaftans—men with long beards and ringlets at the side of their faces. There they stood with their faces turned towards Jerusalem, with praying shawl and phylactery, swaying to and fro as they said their prayers in the full view of everyone. We had reached the home of the Jew—American Jews, English, French, German, or what not; the majority of them are only removed by a generation or two from the home of their fathers in Eastern Europe. There is their real home; there are the surroundings which have left their indelible trace upon the Jew's very features, and moulded his character and made him what he is to-day.

The total Jewish population of the world is reckoned at 13,500,000. Of these 10,000,000 live in Europe, and of them no less than 8,500,000 in

Eastern Europe. A century ago the proportion was still more marked, before the great tide of emigration had overflowed into the great Jewry of America and the lesser Jewries of the British Empire. In spite of massacre and repression and the disastrous effects of Ghetto life, as well as the constant drain of assimilation and baptism, the numbers are ever on the increase, and the surplus forces are thrust out upon the highways of the world. Hence no one can hope to understand the Jewish problem of to-day who has not studied the Jews in the lands which have been the home of so large a proportion of their race for so many centuries.

The following figures will make this still clearer, and help to a just appreciation of the Jewish problem in each country and the corresponding call to the Christian Church there and throughout the world.

GENERAL JEWISH STATISTICS, 1919

The statistics here given are pre-war figures, which will need radical revision at a later date; but they embody some alterations since 1918, especially in regard to the United Kingdom, the figures of which have been brought up to date.

TOTAL JEWISH POPULATION OF THE WORLD

Europe	10,003,647
Asia	499,679
Africa	380,865
America	2,545,556
Australasia	19,415
Grand Total	13,449,162

JEWS IN EUROPE

Russia	6,060,415
Austria (1910)	1,313,687
Hungary (1910)	932,416
Germany (1910)	615,029
British Isles (1918)	275,700
Roumania (1915)	239,967
Holland (1909)	106,309
France (1911)	100,000
Greece (1913)[1]	88,300
Turkey (1913)[1]	80,000
Bulgaria (1913)[2]	67,650
Italy (1911)	43,929
Switzerland (1910)	19,023
Serbia (1913)	15,730
Belgium (1910)	15,000
Bosnia–Herzegovina (1910)	12,169
Norway–Sweden (1910)	4,957
Denmark (1911)	5,164
Spain–Portugal	5,000
Crete (1911)	487
Luxemburg (1910)	1,270
Gibraltar	1,300
Cyprus and Malta	145
Total	10,003,647

[1] The Jewish and general population has since been reduced by the war.

[2] Reduced by the war to 30,000.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY: TO THE PARTITION OF POLAND

THE dispersion of the Jews had already begun long before St. James wrote his Epistle to the sojourners of the Dispersion. They had already reached the more important cities of the Roman Empire. With the fall of Jerusalem and the deportation of a great part of the Jews, their numbers everywhere vastly increased. As slaves at first, and afterwards as freedmen, they penetrated into the more remote parts of the Empire. Wherever the Roman built his roads and opened up the way to commerce, there the Jew followed. This brought them into the lands of Western Europe.

Later, after the Empire had become Christian, they followed in the wake of the Christian missionary, bringing to the inhabitants of heathen lands the wares of civilisation. With the missionaries of the Western Church they advanced towards the North and West, and with those of the Eastern Church towards the North and East. The latter were the forerunners of the great masses of Jews which to-day constitute the Jewries of Eastern Europe. Their numbers were, however, insignificant, and we must rather follow the fortunes of those who pushed up from the western lands of the old Roman Empire into the Germany of to-day. As the power of the

Latin Church increased, so did the sufferings of the Jews. Their stubborn rejection of the predominant religion brought upon them the wrath of the ecclesiastical authorities. Homeless wanderers as they were, all lawful occupations were more and more closed to them, and they were forced to live as best they could by money-lending and such-like business, in which the Church forbade its members to engage. Rulers found it very convenient to relieve the Jews from time to time of the wealth they had amassed. Their treasuries were often depleted in those days of continual warfare, and a contribution imposed upon the Jews was an ever-ready means of replenishing them. The Jews were then allowed to start business afresh, and, keeping this possibility in view, not unnaturally exacted the utmost from their victims. The result was that they were cordially hated by the populace. It was a temptation which could not be resisted, to raise an outcry against the Jews and get them banished, and so to escape the payment of debts. The ignorant fanaticism of the Middle Ages, fanned to a flame by the zeal of a heresy-hunting hierarchy, was easily incited to shout, "Away with the murderers of Christ!" Again and again the Crusaders, following the example of Peter the Hermit, raised the cry of "Hep!" and fell with wild fury upon the Jewish Ghettos of Central Europe. Still, though alternately driven out and invited back, and compelled often to grasp the wanderer's staff, there were intervals of peace and rest, when life could be built up again and the study of the Law, in which Israel so delighted, could be ardently pursued.

It was then that there fell upon the western world in 1348 and the succeeding years the awful scourge of the Black Death, that terrible bubonic plague which swept across Europe from distant Asia, carrying off millions in its course. Probably on account of their superior sanitary laws and their temperance, the Jews were not so liable to it as their Gentile neighbours. In an ignorant age nothing was easier than to suggest that it was the Jews themselves who had originated the plague, and therefore did not suffer so much from it. The fact that some Jews were so unwise as to boast that they were immune naturally gave additional support to the belief. The story was soon concocted that Jews who had come from Spain had brought poison with them and poisoned the wells. There were only too many who were ready to believe anything against the Jews. Immediately the terrified mobs made for the Jewish Ghettos, sacking and murdering and burning whatever came in their way. The extraordinary Order of the Flagellants made it their mission to exterminate the Jews wherever they found them. In this way thousands upon thousands of Jews perished.

As in every other time of persecution, the Jew had to look about him for some refuge from the storm. He found it in the kingdom of Poland, then under the beneficent rule of Casimir the Great (1333–70). Some Jews had already found their way there, but we know very little of the history of the Jews in Slavic lands up to this time. We do know that Casimir enacted a statute on the lines of similar instruments of Boleslav the Pious and Frederick,

Duke of Austria, giving the Jews protection against unjust changes, and rendering their intercourse with their Gentile neighbours easier.

Thither then the Jews fled before the avenging fury of the Flagellants and the wild frenzy of the plague-stricken population of the German States, and were favourably received by the King. There is a story told of a second Esther, with whom the King was in love, and who had succeeded in winning the favour of the King for her people. Be that as it may, they came in ever-increasing numbers, and settled down in all parts of the kingdom. They brought with them the German speech of those days, and have retained it, strange to say, in spite of their new surroundings, up to the present day.

They settled down on the large estates of the nobles, to whom they became indispensable both in their character of middlemen, and as supplying the business acumen which the Polish peasant lacked. As the kingdom was extended and the neighbouring States were subjugated, the Jews became useful to the rulers as gatherers of the exorbitant taxes which were imposed upon the subject peoples. These were farmed out to the Jews, whose interest therefore it was to get as much as they could. They were not slow to take advantage of their opportunity. The success of the Jews in business in the Polish kingdom, and their connection with the hated ruling class in the other States, naturally led to jealousy on the one hand and hatred on the other. Thus the story of Jewish persecution was again enacted, though the nobles and rulers in their own self-interest protected them as well as they

could. The ignorant clergy again and again incited the populace against them. They used the infamous Blood accusation and the charge of desecrating the Host as their weapons. The Jews were supposed to use the blood of a Christian child in the preparation of their Passover bread, and to vent their spite upon the Host if by any chance they were able to obtain a piece of it. Still on the whole they were better off than they had been in Germany. The study of the Talmud flourished, and Poland became the source of Rabbinic learning for the Jewries of the West.

These comparatively peaceful days were rudely brought to an end by the insurrection of the Cossacks under Chmielnicki in 1648–51, and again in 1654–55. As the tax-gatherers of the Poles, the Jews were specially obnoxious to the Cossacks, who fell upon them with wild fury. Later, the Tartars and Russians joined in the fray, and thousands of Jews were massacred. The result of this was for the time being a turn in the tide of emigration, and refugees from Poland filled all the Jewries of Western Europe, bringing with them their Talmudical knowledge and peculiar theological system. Gradually, however, the stricken communities began to recover from these death-dealing blows. Yet they had perforce to share in the poverty which had overtaken the land. They followed the kingdom into its days of political decadence till the ill-fated partitions of Poland, the first of which was in 1772, the second in 1793, and the third in 1795, with subsequent modifications by the Vienna Congress of 1815.

JEWS OF LEMBERG

The end of the eighteenth century thus finds the Ghetto of the Jews of Eastern Europe split up into separate parts. There was Prussian Poland, containing the provinces of Western Prussia and Posen, with a comparatively small population. Its centre was the city of Posen. Then there was Austrian Poland, formed by the crown province of Galicia, with a Jewish population of a million. Its centres were Cracow and Lemberg. Lastly there was Russian Poland, containing all the rest of the ancient kingdom, with a Jewish population of some three millions. Its centre was Warsaw.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY: THE DIVIDED KINGDOM

In German Poland the Jews were accorded the same rights as the other Jews of the German Empire. Nominally they had absolute equality with non-Jews, in reality they were excluded from certain occupations, notably from the Army and the Civil Service. Germany, the home of Antisemitism, understood how to give and yet not to give full liberty to the Jews.

Attracted by German culture, the Jews became the supporters of the Government, and assisted them in their efforts to Germanise the Polish land. They thereby made themselves thoroughly hated by the Poles. Economically they were far in advance of the Pole, and many a Polish landowner became hopelessly in debt to the Jew, and finally had to part with his estates to him. This naturally added to the ill-feeling against the Jews.

In language and education they have profited much by their connection with the more advanced culture of Germany. Religiously, too, they have been greatly influenced by their connection with the liberal thought of Western Germany, though through their proximity to Russian Poland they have still preserved not a little of their original orthodoxy.

In Austrian Poland, again, the Jews shared in all the advantages of the connection with the more advanced portions of the Austrian Empire. They were accorded civil liberty. The picture was, however, very different from that of German Poland. In the latter they were but a small minority scattered over the whole land; in the former they formed one-eighth of the total population, and still continued to live in closely-packed Jewries. In Germany they were in comfortable circumstances and often attained to wealth; in Austria they were for the most part deplorably poor. The cause lay partly in the general poverty of the country and partly in the Jew himself. He failed to take part in agriculture, which was the main wealth of the country. Instead, he concentrated his energies upon trade and commerce in a land which was too insufficiently developed to maintain many small business men and artisans. The result was a grinding competition, which caused him to cut prices till he himself could not live. The root cause was the repression of ages, which had built up in the Jew this ineptitude for all else but trade and commerce. The natural outcome of this was a constant stream of emigration to the neighbouring lands of Hungary and Roumania, where a living could be more easily made.

In Russian Poland the Jews came under the sway of the Tsar of all the Russias. There were Jews in Russia before the annexation of Poland, but they were few in comparison with the teeming millions who now became the problem of Russia. Had they been scattered over the whole of the Russian Empire, their small number in proportion to the total popu-

lation might have made them a comparatively negligible quantity. They were, on the contrary, massed together in one corner, and that near to the western frontiers. The history of the Jews in Russia is largely the history of the different types of Russian rulers. Peter the Great (1682–1725) welcomed them; his daughter, Elizabeth, expelled them. Catherine II. (1762–96) admitted them. Alexander I. (1801–1825) favoured them; Nicolas I. (1825–55) revoked the privileges which they had enjoyed under his brother. His successor, Alexander II. (1855–81), the Tsar Liberator, began by granting reforms, but, after the Polish rebellion, ended by taking most of them back. Under Alexander III. (1881–94) reaction was in the ascendant. Great hopes were formed by Nicolas II. (1894–1918), but they were not fulfilled.

The problem of the Russian Emperors was how to unite the various peoples who formed the population of their Empire. The simplest way seemed to them to be to induce them all, by hook or by crook, as they lived under one Tsar, to adopt one language, Russian, and one Faith, that of the Orthodox Church, and so eventually to weld them into one people. Some considerable measure of success attended these efforts, but not among the Jews. Every such attempt only brought out into stronger relief the stubborn opposition of the Jew. Assimilation meant to him the loss of his Faith and his nationality, and for these he had suffered and died through long centuries in every land. The only result was to drive him in ever more and more upon himself, and to hinder the progress which would have

been advantageous to him, and might have done something to create better feeling between him and his neighbours.

Failing to root out what was to them an evil growth, the ruling authorities adopted the plan of limiting its extent. Just as in the days of old a wall was erected round the Jewish Ghetto, beyond which no Jew might venture, so now a line was drawn round the district in which they were allowed to live. By the law of May 13, 1835, this Pale of Settlement, begun in 1791, was made to consist of the Provinces of Kovno, Grodno, and Wilna, Volhynia, Podolia, Minsk, Mohilev, Vitebsk, the Russian portion of Poland, Kiev, the South Russian Provinces of Bessarabia, Kherson, and Taurida, with the exception of the holy city of Kiev, and the town of Nicolaiev, and the fortress of Sebastopol. The line started from the Baltic, in the neighbourhood of Memel, and followed the course of the Dnieper until it approached the Black Sea, just including the Crimea. Its western boundary was the western frontier of Poland. Thus the Jew was enclosed between the frontiers of Germany and the Dnieper, the Baltic and the Black Sea. It is true that there were districts not included in the Pale where Jews had lived and still continued to live, but they were as nothing compared to the Pale of Settlement.

Even here the Jews were subjected to all kinds of restrictions in their cultural and economic life, with the object of hindering them from exerting an evil influence on the surrounding Russians, and from competing upon equal terms with them in trade and commerce.

The Jew understood perfectly well what the Government policy was, and resisted it to the utmost of his power. Thrust in upon himself he grew ever more and more suspicious. Even when schools were specially created for his children, he avoided them as only another means of attaining his undoing by bringing about his assimilation. Confined within a narrow circle, he grew ever more and more narrow in his outlooks. The policy of the Tsar Nicolas I. was to lead the Jews to enlightenment, and so on to assimilation, but they would have none of it. The influence of the modern movement among the Jews of Germany was not without its effect upon the Russian Jews also, and a party arose which was willing to respond to the Tsar's offers, but its influence was too small to have any real effect.

Foiled in his well-meant efforts, Nicolas I. turned against the Jews, and one repressive law after another was issued. In 1843 it was enacted that no Jew should live within fifty versts (about thirty miles) of the German and Austrian frontiers. The ostensible reason for the law was the smuggling and espionage which the Jews near the frontier were said to have carried on. Thousands were driven out from their homes at almost a day's notice, and were compelled to fill to overflowing the already crowded districts of the Pale. Finally the right of living in the open country was taken away from them, and they were driven into the towns and cities, which were already overfull.

On the accession of Alexander II. (1855) it seemed as if halcyon days were about to break upon the Jewish horizon. What might they not expect

from the Tsar Liberator, that noble spirit who with a word struck off the shackles from 23,000,000 serfs, and made them free men throughout the length and breadth of the Empire? And truly his reign opened well, for the laws of Nicolas I. were largely repealed. Permission was given to Jewish merchants of the first of the three guilds into which Russian merchants were divided to live anywhere in the Empire. The merchants were divided into guilds according to the amount of income tax they paid, those of the first guild being the richest. The same right was accorded to Jewish doctors, workmen, and ex-soldiers, though in the latter case without permanent permission to live in the cities chosen. Jews were allowed to buy real estate and to enter the Civil Service. The Government schools were improved and put in charge of the Jews themselves. Thus a great measure of freedom was accorded to them in the hope that gradually they would become more enlightened, and be a help rather than a difficulty to the country, and that eventually all restrictions could be removed. Then came the fatal revolution in Poland in 1863, in which a number of the more educated Jews took part. This so enraged the Tsar that he became embittered, and gave up all hope of improving the relations of the Jews to his Empire. Largely influenced by Germany, the home of modern Antisemitism, the feeling against the Jews grew steadily worse, and the All-Russia Party actively promoted it.

In 1874 conscription for all alike was introduced. This was a hard blow to the Jews, who hated the army from religious motives. It forced them to

break so many of their traditional laws, that they avoided it as much as possible, and thereby angered the people still more. Charges of using Christian blood at the Passover were again made.

The effect of the reaction following the Polish insurrection was to increase the Nihilist movement, in which a proportion of Jews took part. As a consequence new regulations were continually introduced limiting the freedom of the Jews. They were again and again "evacuated" out of different towns where they had been allowed to settle.

After the Turko-Russian War, in which the Jews had shown themselves as good fighters as the Russians, there seemed to be great hope that at last freedom would be granted them. Then it was that the Tsar Liberator fell by the hand of the assassin (1881). Alexander III., who now succeeded to the throne, was a thorough disciple of the maxim, "One Tsar, one Faith, one Language, one Law." All thoughts of the Constitution which had been promised by his predecessor were given up, and with it went all hope of freedom for the Jews. His attitude towards these may be judged from one of his last words: "The Jews are a heavy cross for Russia, which she is condemned to bear for ever." He was diligently instructed that the Jews were leaders in revolutionary ideas. The common people were stirred up against the Jews, their jealousy and baser passions were worked on, and they were used as a scourge wherewith to punish them. Thus arose the first Jewish pogrom in 1881 at Elizabethgrad in South Russia, fatal precursor of a long series of outrages. This was followed by a far more serious

one in Kiev. The police were as often as not the actual instigators, and only retired when eventually the military were called out to keep the populace from getting altogether out of hand. The same thing happened in many places, and even as far south as Odessa. On this followed fresh evacuations of the Jewish population out of many places where they had been allowed to take up their residence. Many efforts to secure justice were made, but they were of no avail. The Jews saw no remedy but to leave the country, and wholesale emigration to North America and other countries began.

Various measures of repression were made use of, culminating finally in the so-called May Laws of May 3, 1882, the Temporary Rules, as they were entitled. Jews were forbidden to live in the country, or to rent estates, or to trade on Christian holidays. The officials used the laws for their own ends, and drove the Jews again into the overfull towns. Those who had succeeded in reaching the great cities of Russia were expelled and driven back to the misery of the Pale of Settlement.

The effect of this was naturally to increase the tide of emigration, and still larger numbers left Russia for America and other lands. At the same time the first beginnings of Zionism and emigration to Palestine became noticeable. M. L. Lilienblum founded the "Lovers of Zion," the precursors of modern Zionism. This was followed by Pinsker's "Auto-emancipation," and a movement was started which has never died down, but rather gathered impetus with every attempt to repress it.

A new source of repression was found in the re-

striction of education. It was the educated Jews who swelled the ranks of the revolutionaries, so their numbers must be reduced. A rule was made, fixing the number of Jewish pupils who might attend Christian schools. In the Pale it was ten per cent., outside the Pale five per cent., and in Moscow and Petrograd only three per cent. Thus in towns where the Jewish population was sixty to eighty per cent., only ten per cent. were allowed to attend the higher schools.

The Conscription Laws were applied very harshly, and heavy fines were imposed for evasion. When the Jew was once in the army, however, the way to all advancement was barred, and special treatment was meted out to him.

In spite of the fact that the Pahlen Commission reported in favour of gradual emancipation, the repressive measures were still persisted in, with the natural result of increasing the tendency to emigration on the one hand, and to secret participation in revolutionary movements on the other. The laws were more and more arbitrarily applied, and the means of existence for a Jew diminished. It almost amounted to a deliberate effort to starve out the Jews, in the words of a highly-placed Russian official, "so that one-third should die, one-third emigrate, and the rest be assimilated."

Negotiations were opened in 1891 with Baron Hirsch and the Jewish Colonisation Association for the emigration of 3,250,000 Jews in twenty-five years to the Argentine. These efforts, however, ended in failure, and the main tide of emigration still flowed towards North America. This

carried off, however, only the overflow, and had scarcely any effect on the main problem.

Much was hoped from the reputed love of reform of Nicolas II. (1894), but nothing came of it. He was influenced by his Ministers, and the same repressive measures were continued. Indeed, the Jews formed a convenient means of turning the thoughts of the populace from revolutionary schemes. Thus, in 1903 the world was shocked at the news of the pogrom in Kishiniev, where on Easter Day after service the mob set on the Jews and massacred and pillaged them.

It was only in view of the raising of foreign loans in which Jewish bankers had a part that some steps were taken to ameliorate the lot of the Jews, but no results were visible. The policy of pogroms was continued. It served as a safety valve for the passions of the people, and was intended to intimidate the Jews, and prevent their taking an active part in revolutionary proceedings.

Thus matters continued till the Great War broke out and brought with it the Revolution and finally the abolition of the Russian Ghetto.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY: THE OVERFLOW

The natural result of the repressive measures in Russia was the effort to find a new home and some land where peace and security could be assured. At the same time, the pressure of the poverty of the dense masses of Jews in Galicia also led many to search for a sphere where a more tolerable existence could be found. This led eventually to the emigration of very many to the far distant lands of America and England. But previous to that others turned to lands nearer at hand, and found a refuge in Hungary and Roumania. As opportunity offered, and in spite of all restrictive measures, they found their way over the Carpathians into the broad plains below.

There have been Jews in Hungary for many a long century. They shared with their brethren in Austria the same alternations of expulsion and recall. By the law of 1791 they were assured of protection, but it was fifty years before their position was regularised. The tax which had been imposed upon them in return for toleration was only finally abolished in 1848. In the revolution of that year the Jews suffered considerably, and some 20,000 of them fought in the army. Kossuth granted them emancipation, which, however, proved only tem-

porary. When the War of Independence failed they lost these privileges. They were provided with schools, but civil and political rights were denied them. At length, under the constitution of 1867, they, with their brethren in Austria, were granted full rights. Finally, in 1895–96, Judaism was recognised as one of the legal religions of Hungary.

Their numbers were comparatively small till the dismemberment of Poland. From that time onward thousands upon thousands of Galician Jews have crossed the Carpathians into Hungary, which seemed to them a veritable "El Dorado." Before the Great War they numbered no less than 900,000, of whom some 250,000 lived in Budapest. They enjoyed every freedom, and were gradually becoming the masters of Hungary; real estate was passing rapidly into their hands, and industry and commerce were largely carried on by them.

Under the influence of this freedom of life the strictness of their orthodoxy was giving way, and the Neologen (as the reforming party was called) was growing ever more powerful. Assimilation was at work, mixed marriages were frequent, and the way was being prepared for the extraordinary spectacle of a mass movement towards Christianity. Since the Bolshevist upheaval in 1919 in Budapest, it is said that no less than 30,000 Jews have been baptised into the Christian faith. Political motives are doubtless responsible for some part of this, but still the large number of baptisms in the Protestant churches goes to prove that very many are really in earnest, as membership of those churches does not

confer the same social and political advantages as that of the predominant State church.

There were Jews in Roumania long before the Jews fleeing from Russian persecution and driven by Galician poverty began to come over in large numbers. They were, however, comparatively few in number. The country was too uncivilised, and too often swept by the incursions of various tribes, to hold out any prospects to the Jews during the thousand years of its history after the Roman legions left. It was only after the Christian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were developed in the thirteenth century that the Jews began to appear in the land in any considerable numbers. They entered it both from the north and the south. Those from the south were the Jews who had taken refuge in the Turkish Empire from the persecutions of the Spanish Inquisition, the so-called Sephardim, or Spanish Jews. As the province of Wallachia fell under the overlordship of the Turk, the Jews naturally came up with their Turkish masters. They brought with them their own Spanish tongue, and settled down exclusively in the south.

The great landowners of Moldavia, as those of Poland, owned huge estates and kept their peasants in a state of serfdom. Hence they needed men of business to carry on their affairs. These they found in the Jews, and soon each estate had its Jew, who liked to surround himself with a small body of his co-religionists. The opportunities of trade in such a country were many, and naturally attracted those who were in search of new fields to conquer. From at least the seventeenth century

onwards there have been definite Jewish communities established in the different towns of Moldavia. These were Ashkenazim, or German-speaking Jews, in contradistinction to the Sephardim of the south.

It was therefore only natural that the Jews of Poland, in times of difficulty and in their effort to escape persecution, and the Jews of Galicia, in their desire to find some outlet from the grinding poverty which oppressed them, should turn their steps to Roumania as well as to Hungary. For half a century and more a steady stream flowed in year by year till their numbers reached some 300,000, a large proportion among a Gentile population of only 7,000,000. As their numbers increased the features of the Russian and Galician Jewries began to be reproduced, and the Jew became the same problem for Roumania as he was for Russia. Unfortunately the Roumanian has found no better solution for it than his northern neighbour. He has followed his example in everything save in the actual taking of life, and has achieved just as unsatisfactory a result. Since Roumania became independent in 1859 repressive measures against the Jews have been maintained and increased. The policy has been to keep down the Jew instead of endeavouring to raise the peasant up to his level of education and ability. In spite of the decision of the Berlin Conference of 1878, Roumania has continued to grant citizenship to Jews only on such a restricted basis as to be almost imperceptible. The laws were carefully veiled as laws against all foreigners, but in effect they were directed against the Jews

as being the "foreigner" whose numbers ran into thousands. They were not allowed to live outside the towns; the Civil Service and the higher grades of the Army were closed to them, as also were various occupations, such as those of lawyer and chemist, except as assistants to Roumanians. The State schools were also practically closed to them. Admission to the Universities was grudgingly allowed, and none of the professorships at the Universities or posts in the hospitals were open to them.

Disturbances have from time to time taken place, but nothing in the nature of pogroms in the Russian sense has ever occurred. The most serious outbreak of popular hatred was in 1903, and resulted in large numbers of Jews emigrating to America.

The war has here again worked what seemed otherwise impossible, and to-day in Greater Roumania every Jew has his civil and political rights assured to him by law.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY: SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

The story of the Jews of Eastern Europe would not be complete without some mention of those of South-Eastern Europe, who compose the Jewries of European Turkey, Bulgaria, Serbia, and South Roumania. Here an utterly different picture meets the eye. The Jewries are small and scattered, and it is largely the Sephardim, or Spanish-speaking Jews, and not the Ashkenazim, or German-speaking Jews, who are in the ascendant.

The cause of their presence is the same old story of religious persecution. It leads us back to the Spain and Portugal of the Middle Ages, to that Jewry so famous for light and learning which grew up under the rule of the Moors. It persisted under their successors, the Christian rulers, until religious fanaticism crushed it out of existence. Thousands were forced into a superficial acceptance of Christianity, others were condemned to the stake, and the remainder were swept out of the land. What an infinitely sad and pathetic picture it is to see the Jew, the man of the Chosen Race, driven out by a Christian Church and compelled to take refuge in Mohammedan lands. For it was chiefly to North Africa and the Turkish Empire that he wandered.

The Spanish Jew is a man of very different

character from the Polish Jew. It is true that the race is one, and that they have very much in common in training and religious observance, but still there is a vast difference. There is a refinement about the Spanish Jew, a natural taste for art, a dignity, which is hard to find among the Polish Jews. On the other hand, his long association with the East has made him less progressive in his thinking and less aggressive in his methods.

The Jews were granted a great measure of freedom in the Turkish Empire. Their numbers were small, and their influence outside of a few towns was not much felt. Constantinople, Adrianople, and Salonica became their chief homes in European Turkey. They had as much or as little of civil rights as everyone else. They were amongst other Semites or Eastern peoples, so that the racial difference was not obnoxious. The matter of religion was not pressed, and in economic life they had keen competitors in the Greek, the Syrian, and the Armenian. They still maintain their old Spanish tongue and garb, and are strongly influenced by their unprogressive surroundings. Religiously they are orthodox, though tending ever more and more to free thought.

The northern, German-speaking Jew has come in much later and has brought his own peculiar characteristics with him. He does not mix with the Spanish-speaking Jew, but has his own separate community with its own synagogue and schools.

The Jews are a people apart in a land where there are many different peoples and religions, and where each carries on its own separate life, having only a loose connection with the governing head.

They do not therefore tend to become the problem which they are in the lands of the West.

The Jews of Bulgaria have not been numerous till recent years. They were almost entirely Spanish-speaking Jews who had come up from European Turkey. They lived under much the same conditions as in the Turkish Empire. They seemed to have no desire to engage in agriculture, and formed little communities in several of the towns. The Bulgarian is a smallholder, and the land was comparatively unprogressive, and the Jew was content to make a small living, and was left in peace.

Since the independence of Bulgaria (1878) and the consequent progress of the country, German-speaking Jews have been crossing the Danube in ever-increasing numbers from Hungary and Roumania. The German-speaking element thus outnumbers the Spanish. They all enjoy full citizen rights, and can exercise them freely. But with the influx of the northern Jew Antisemitic feeling has taken the place of the former tolerance. The Jews now form two communities numbering close on 70,000, a considerable number in a small country of only 3,000,000 inhabitants. Thus the problem which faces the northern lands is rapidly developing in this southern State.

The small Jewish community of Serbia was almost entirely Spanish-speaking, and confined to the two towns of Belgrade and Nisch. The community in Belgrade was established in 1530, and that of Nisch in 1728. They have passed through various vicissitudes, and have been at times subjected to anti-Jewish laws. The Constitution of 1889 abolished

these laws, and the Jews were accorded full civil rights. They only numbered some 10,000 in all, and had comparatively little influence in the country.

Since Serbia achieved her independence a German-speaking community has begun to spring up, recruited from the Austrian and Hungarian Jewries. The backward state of the country offered little attraction to them, and but for a certain number in Belgrade they were a very small body. Here again the war has made a great alteration, and to-day Greater Serbia's Jewish population is considerable.

The Spanish-speaking communities of South Roumania are not large. They present a different picture from those across the Danube. The land in which they dwell has not been so distinctly Turkish as the Balkan lands, and the admixture of other Jews is far larger. In Bucarest, for instance, the total Jewish population is 45,000, of which only 4,000 is Spanish-speaking. The Jews do not live in such close communities as on the other side of the Danube. They tend to become assimilated in speech to the people of the land, and to lose their knowledge of Spanish save as a patois convenient for use in business transactions.

CHAPTER V

POST-WAR CONDITIONS

The war and the Russian Revolutions have caused such an upheaval in Jewry as can be compared to nothing in its history since the days of Cyrus.

Once again the great Jewry of the Polish kingdom has been established; the Jewries of Russian, German, and Austrian Poland are again united after more than one hundred years. There is, sad to say, no possible question as to the attitude of the Polish nation to the Jew. It is one of frank dislike on racial, economic, and religious grounds. It will be intensely difficult for the Pole to be just to the Jew, and equally so for the Jew to act aright towards the Pole. The League of Nations will have no easy task to ensure that the minority clauses are justly and honestly carried out. It is hard to see how the state of things can be improved save by the spread of a more truly Christian attitude towards the Jew on the one hand, and by the acceptance of Christian principles by the Jew on the other. There is not much hope of either taking place under existing circumstances.

The walls of the Ghetto in Russia have fallen, and liberty for travel and residence has been conceded. Exactly how things stand with the Jews under the Soviet rule it is hard to tell. One thing is clear,

that certain Jewish elements have taken a considerable part in the setting up of the Soviet Republic. Considering the conditions under which the Jews lived for so many decades, it is hardly to be wondered at that the revolutionary party among them was strong. On the other hand, it would be very wrong to suppose that all Russian Jewry was in favour of the new system. This is quite improbable, though for the time being the Jew will bow his head to the storm, as he has done a thousand times in the past centuries. The down-trodden slave learns to cringe to the master in whose possession he happens to be for the time being, and it is hard to eradicate the habits of centuries in a few short years of freedom.

The Jew in the war area has been accused again and again by both parties of helping the enemy. On the one hand, he may have been too ready to obey whatever authority happened to prevail, and on the other to escape from the intolerable tyranny under which he lived. It is not a pretty picture, but it is cause and effect wrought out by the hand of time.

The Jew has been transported and has wandered far afield. How many Jews are left in Russia it is impossible to say. Some have even crossed over to Japan to add another to the Jewish communities of Asia, and so to complete the dispersion of the Jew in all the world. They are beyond our scope, only let those who write their history remember whence they came and what has made them what they are.

The Ukraine has within its borders a large Jewish

population, the remains of the South Russian Ghetto. The attitude of its people to the Jew remains to be seen if and when they have succeeded in establishing their Republic on a firm footing. They have shown at least good will and an earnest desire to find a satisfactory solution for the problem. The terrible pogroms of 1919 seem to have been the work of the rough and unlicensed soldiery of General Denikin, smarting under the treatment meted out to them by the Bolshevists (whom popular opinion considered to be largely Jews or urged on by Jews), and by roving bands of adventurers. There is no question that a restoration of the monarchy would have meant a terrible punishment to the Jew for the sins of a comparatively small number, who as internationalists had deliberately cut themselves off from their race, and separated themselves from its religion.

The Republics of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have their quotas of Jews; in Lithuania they are very numerous. They are protected by the Minority clauses of the Paris Treaty, the provisions of which there seems to be an honest desire to carry out. How far this will be a real advantage to Jewry remains to be seen. It is strengthening the Jew in much that has kept him apart from his fellow-men, and adds nothing to the final solution of the Jewish problem. It merely makes life tolerable to him where he is. It has a further tendency to create ill-feeling towards the Jew as being unpatriotic and under the protection of a foreign power. One can hardly imagine that this will tend to peace and goodwill. For the Jews to have been granted a separate citizenship under laws of their own as a group within each country

would have been the most hopeful solution if the countries involved could have been trusted to grant full civil and religious liberty. On the other hand, the Minority clauses seem to be preparing the Jews for national life, and keeping them separate from the nations in preparation for their new life in their own land.

Greater Roumania has had its Jewish population nearly quadrupled. Large numbers who were under Russian rule in Bessarabia and under Austrian rule in Bukovina, as well as the very diverse elements which formed part of the Hungarian kingdom, have been added to its already large Jewish population. At length civil and political rights have been accorded to the Jews of the old kingdom. They are, however, very far from being placed on a footing of equality with their Roumanian fellow-citizens. Much will depend on their own action, and on the honesty with which the Minority clauses are carried out. The same dislike as in Poland is equally observable here, the only difference being that the Roumanian is of a more tolerant and easy-going disposition.

The Jew will now be able to purchase land and live in the country, and enter any and every calling. It will of necessity take time to induce the denizens of the town to leave it for the healthier life of the country. The habits of centuries cannot be broken in a day. The task before the Roumanians also is no easy one. It is hard to relinquish the prejudices of centuries at once. There will be a great temptation tacitly to exclude the Jews from many walks in life, as the Germans under the monarchy so

consistently succeeded in doing. The Bessarabian Jew was more Russian than the peasant, the Bukovina Jew was essentially an Austrian subject, and the Hungarian Jew was notably the most chauvinistic of all the inhabitants of that land of many peoples. It will not be easy for the Roumanians to accept them all at once as loyal Roumanian subjects.

The Jews of the Old Kingdom will now be able to organise as they have never done before. Their community has now a legal existence and can hold property. They will in consequence wield a power they have never before possessed. This again will cause the same questionings as arose in the case of Poland.

The Jews of Hungary have suffered severely for the mad excesses of a few of their number during the troubles of 1919, and for the unrestrained selfishness of many of their richer members. It remains to be seen how many of those who in a state of panic submitted to baptism will remain faithful to their new faith as soon as the immediate danger has passed away.

In the other lands the problem remains much as before, save that all through Jewry there is a subtle undercurrent of longing after the home of their forefathers, expressing itself in an ardent adhesion to Zionism.

CHAPTER VI

ANTISEMITISM: ITS CAUSES AND REMEDY

WHY have the Jews been so thoroughly hated in Eastern Europe? Is there any justification for the brutal treatment meted out to them?

The answer to the first question lies first and foremost in the racial difference. The Jew is a Semite and the European an Aryan. The Jew has, it is true, often intermarried, but on the whole he has remained pure in race. In thought and feeling he is still a Semite, and his ideals are not those of his surroundings. Europeans do not understand him, and his ideals do not appeal to them. Nor does he give himself any trouble to make himself understood by people whom he considers to be both spiritually and mentally immeasurably his inferiors. Hence they frankly dislike him.

Then there is the influence of the Old Testament teaching that the Jews are the Chosen Race and the heathen the enemies of the Lord. The Jew, living among Christians who make much display of images and eikons, is firmly convinced that they, too, are idolaters, and therefore on a par with the Canaanites of old, while he as a pure monotheist stands on an infinitely higher plane. And Talmudic teaching has accentuated this point of view. Hence he consciously or unconsciously despises the non-

Jew, and cultivates a real pride in himself and a contempt for all that is non-Jewish. This line of conduct naturally irritates the non-Jew.

Further—and this is an all-important consideration—the Jew lacks the self-sacrificing love of Christ for all men. He is philanthropic, but mostly within the bounds of his own race. He has an intense love of race, but not of man. Hence the Jew does drive a harder bargain on the whole than the Gentile, and is less generous-hearted in his dealings with non-Jews. This naturally causes resentment on the part of those who get the worst of the bargain, and dislike from those who are, though unconsciously, imbued with a more generous spirit.

Again, it must not be forgotten that the Jew is a case of the survival of the fittest, and the result of 4,000 years of training under a Law which has so much of value. The result is, taken as a whole, a man of iron will, tremendous determination, and great intelligence. His Talmudic training has assisted in sharpening his wits to an extraordinary degree. In dealing with an uneducated peasantry he easily gains the upper hand. With his century-long experience of business, his thrifty habits, and strong self-control, coupled with a readiness to drive a hard bargain, he naturally becomes better off than his neighbours, and this leads very easily to jealousy and hatred.

He is at the same time open to all the latest influences. He has a natural bent for speculative reasoning, and Socialism appeals strongly to him. He becomes therefore the born leader of any revolutionary movement which may be on hand. For

that he earns the hatred of the ruling classes and of all the conservative elements in any given land.

It is also sadly true that he is all too ready to pander to the vices of the weaker elements, while largely keeping free from them himself. There are all too many Jewish vendors of strong drink, and yet the Jew himself is seldom a drunkard. His interest in the white slave trade is very considerable, and yet he himself is comparatively moral. His broken and ruined victims are apt to turn on one who has pandered to their weakness. The very fact, too, that he has a language of his own, which he often uses as a means of doing a better business deal, excites suspicion against him.

All these things tend to make the Jew disliked, and in too many cases actively hated, wherever he is, although for active hate there is very little justification. Certainly it is not for the Christian Church to adopt such an attitude in the face of the example of its Founder. If the Jew were as bad as he is painted, it would but be an additional reason for treating him with the yearning love of Him Who came to seek and to save them that are lost. There is manifestly no justification whatever for the brutal treatment that has too often been meted out to him. The pity of it is that in these Eastern lands the leaders of the churches do not teach their people the Christian way of looking at this matter. If they did, there would then be some hope that at least a considerable body of Christians would adopt another attitude, and so help towards a better relationship between Jew and non-Jew.

What, then, are the remedies for Antisemitism? Clearly, first of all, the provision of a land in which the Jews can govern themselves. This land can be none other than Palestine, the land from whence they came. There are most difficult problems to be solved in this direction, and it is plain that many years must pass before Palestine can absorb the majority of the present Jewish population of the world. The Arab question, the rendering of the soil capable of supporting a large number of inhabitants, and the creation of industries, are the more immediate problems. Still, let Zionism be a living force among the Jews. It will give them hope and strength to endure the hardships which will undoubtedly still hem in their progress. At the worst it will give the nations an opportunity of getting rid of any Jews who make themselves specially obnoxious, and of leaving them to be dealt with by their own people.

Eventually those who refuse to go to Palestine will take their place as foreigners in the land they choose to stay in, and be subjected to the same laws as any other foreigners, without any wrong being done. The moment when this should take place might well be left to the appreciation of the League of Nations.

But meanwhile what is to be done with the millions of Eastern Europe, who must perforce remain where they are for the present? The problem is one of immense difficulty for those who live in those lands and understand the peculiar circumstances of both Jew and non-Jew. It is easy for those who do not know both sides of the question, and therefore

cannot appreciate the difficulties, to say that they should be accorded full citizen rights. And yet can one say less than that it ought to be so, and this without any passive obstruction in the background? This latter proviso is necessary, for it has proved possible to give the Jews civil and political rights, and yet, as in the Germany of yesterday, to debar them all entrance into the Civil Service or the higher ranks of the Army. If the Jew takes an undue advantage of his position, by all means let the necessary laws be applied, and strictly applied, but to all classes alike.

The great difficulty which is presented may be summed up in the statement that is so often made by the non-Jew: "The Jew, being more intelligent and less scrupulous, will soon rule us instead of our ruling him." The remedy for this surely lies in speeding up the education of all classes of the population and so rendering them fit to compete with the Jewish intelligence. The fault truly lies with those who have purposely kept back the needed education from the peasants and the masses of the population in these lands.

But what of the present before this educational policy can take effect? There one can only suggest a special watchfulness against wrong-doing and an earnest effort on the one side to develop a more Christian attitude to the Jew, and on the other to christianise the Jewish population. By this is not meant the denationalising of the Jew, or the attempt to make him assimilate with the Gentile population, but rather the establishment and building up of a Hebrew Christian Church within the ranks of the

nation. The Mother Church will clearly have to be in Palestine, with branches in every land where Jews dwell in any considerable numbers. A Christian Jewish people, with the example of the self-sacrifice of Christ ever before their eyes, will be no danger to the Gentile population among whom they live, but rather the reverse, even if the racial difficulty must of necessity remain.

CHAPTER VII

THE GHETTO JEW IN HOME AND TOWN

For the moment let the reader imagine himself transplanted into a Jewish townlet in Poland, Russia, Galicia, or Moldavia. There may be a few Gentiles living on the outskirts, but in the main all the houses are Jewish. They are mostly small and insignificant. There is a long main street with little shops from one end to the other. Somewhere in a courtyard there will be a larger building recognised as the synagogue. The Rebbè, or Rov, as the minister is called in the south and north respectively, will live not far away. He will probably perform the duties of circumciser and slaughterer of fowls as well. He may also be the local schoolteacher if the community is very small.

From the cradle to the grave the Jew is surrounded by religion and superstition. Charms are hung up in the birth chamber, and the babe is protected against the power of the Evil Eye and the machinations of the Evil Spirit, Lilith (Adam's supposed first wife, who has ever since been jealous of Eve's children), and such-like dire calamities. If it be a boy the ceremony of circumcision takes place on the eighth day after the birth in the home, and the father has special privileges in the synagogue

on the following Sabbath. If it be a girl, very little attention is paid to the child, a name just being assigned to it during the Sabbath service. Should it be a firstborn son, the ceremony of Redemption must be performed at the end of a month. A Cohen (priest) has to be paid the equivalent of the five shekels for the redemption of the child (Num. xviii. 16).

As soon as the child is old enough to wear it, a small garment is provided, consisting of a piece of linen or wool covering the breast and back, with a hole in the centre for the head to pass through, to which are attached at the four corners fringes or tassels, the sign of Israel's separation from the nations (Num. xv. 38).

The moment he can form any words he must be taught the great central word, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord." At the early age of four or five he will be sent to the Cheder, or school. There, in a small room, very indifferently provided with school requisites and mostly lacking in sanitation and hygiene, he will be kept for hours daily learning by rote the Hebrew of the Law and its commentaries. His side-locks will be allowed to grow from now onwards, and when he reaches man's age his beard must be long and the corners uncut in fancied fulfilment of Lev. xix. 27. Soon the boy will be initiated into the intricacies of the Talmud, and will learn to discuss the most involved problems. For his physical development nothing will be done at all, and were it not for his extraordinarily wiry constitution and his attention to the dietary and

other laws he would soon succumb. As it is, he often grows up unfitted for manual labour, and with an overdeveloped mentality in certain directions.

At the age of thirteen he will be initiated into the Congregation and become a Son of the Commandment (Bar Mitzvah); he and not his father will now be held responsible for his sins. It is now his duty to say all the Jewish prayers and to wear the phylacteries on every weekday morning.

He is now a man in the congregation, and may even begin to trade. To go out and drive a bargain with the ignorant peasant is often the ideal of his existence. If his parents can afford it they may let him go on learning in a Yeshivah, or school for the study of Jewish theological literature. He will then be intensely proud of himself, and may look forward to making a much better match in the matrimonial market. The reverence paid to knowledge is pathetic when it is seen to be so one-sided and unprogressive.

At an early age he will marry the girl of his parents' choice, and possibly live in the father-in-law's house for a couple of years or more. The bride will present him with a praying shawl and a shroud. The former must be worn daily as he says his prayers and on Sabbath days in the synagogue. The latter will be used on the yearly Day of Atonement, and finally for his burial.

He will now be the typical Russian Jew. His long kaftan, the dress of bygone days, is his pride as signifying his Jewish connection. His hat of

JEW WEARING THE TALLITH

equally antiquated pattern is likewise an almost religious article. Underneath it is the little skull-cap from which he is never parted lest he should by any chance hear the Scriptures read with uncovered head. Straying out from under his waistcoat there may be seen the fringes of his "Four Corners." They have five knots and eight threads. The knots remind him of the five books of Moses: 5+8 makes 13, and that with 600—the numerical significance of the Hebrew word for fringe—makes 613, the traditional number of the precepts of the Law which he is bound to keep.

Every morning he is waked up at an early hour to go to synagogue to say his prayers. Three times a day he goes through the form of prayer as contained in the Jewish Prayer-Book, either at home or by preference in the synagogue. There ten men, the so-called Minyan, must be found to form a congregation, or the service cannot be proceeded with. The prayers will often be said with a rapidity which is only the result of long practice. He will not think it inconsistent to keep one ear open for what may be passing in the shop or home.

His home will be managed by his wife in accordance with the precepts of the Rabbinic Law. She may or more often may not have had any education save in the mysteries of "kosher" (*i.e.*, ritually clean) cooking. She will be most punctilious in everything that appertains to it. Milk and meat will be most carefully kept apart in supposed fulfilment of the command of Exod. xxiii. 19.

There will be a Mezuzah on the door, and the

children will be held up to kiss it as they enter. It is fastened slanting on the right-hand doorpost of the house and of each separate room, and consists of a piece of parchment on which are written parts of Deut. vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21, rolled up together and enclosed in a glass, metal, or wooden tube, with a small opening showing the first letter of the word Shaddai, the Almighty. It has largely lost its significance as a literal fulfilment of the command which it encloses, and has become merely a charm which must not be neglected, for it protects the house from evil spirits.

When Sabbath comes round he will don his Sabbath garments. His wife will light the Sabbath lamp with the customary ceremonies, and he will depart for the synagogue accompanied by his sons. The wife may perhaps follow him, but she will not sit with him, but in a gallery reserved for the women, or even in an adjoining room. Religious duties are not required of her other than those involved in the carrying on of a Jewish household. On the man's return from the synagogue he will welcome in the Sabbath with the appointed ceremony, including the distribution of bread and wine. No cooking will be done nor fire made, though advantage will be taken of clever ways of keeping things hot, and the services of a Gentile engaged for the Sabbath will be utilised for works forbidden to the Jew. As the Sabbath ends, he will perform the ceremony prescribed for the separation of the Sabbath from the working day, the holy from the profane. There is much that is beautiful in all this, though at the same

time much that tends to strengthen him in his self-righteousness and pride.

When the Jewish feasts come round, they will be kept with care. The Jew may even spend all night in the synagogue, and allow himself to receive forty stripes save one on the eve of the Day of Atonement. He will search for leaven with meticulous care on the eve of the Passover, and live in a booth of some sort at the Feast of Tabernacles whatever the weather may be. He will greet the new moon with special prayers, and celebrate the New Year of Trees with great assiduity.

On the other hand, he will run a wire from house to house and street to street, and call it a wall, and do within it things which the Law forbids on a Sabbath outside of a house. He will deposit food at a point in preparation for the Sabbath, and declare it to be his dwelling-place for the time being, so as to be able to do a double journey on the Sabbath. He will even do a stroke of business provided that someone else does the necessary writing for him. By such casuistry he deceives himself, and builds up a character which can do crooked things without seeing the wrong of them. Thus he will develop a superficiality in spiritual things which makes him satisfied with the externals of religion, and leaves him proud and self-righteous in heart. In his dealings with the Gentile he will drive a hard bargain without mercy or restraint, and yet boast of his almsgiving to his poorer brethren, oblivious to the fact that the chief motive for his charity is the amount of merit he is thereby acquiring for himself.

Such are some of the effects of the Talmud training as seen in a purely Jewish village. His dream of learning has its disadvantage in making him despise the man whom force of circumstances compels to earn his living by a trade. It makes him inclined to grasp at any means which offers an easy way of making money. He will, if he can, be no man's servant, and so he multiplies shop on shop till unhealthy competition produces poverty and shifty methods. His mind is narrowed and limited, so that great enterprises are impossible to him, and he remains in painful poverty.

Still more deleterious is the effect of Chassidism, where the Tsadik (saint) is all-powerful, where ecstasy is mistaken for true devotion, and where men deliver over their mind and conscience completely to the keeping of another; where vast sums are spent on the maintenance of a needless state and on a crowd of useless adherents of the great man, as is so often the case in Galicia, the home of Chassidism.

There is much that is good and noble in the old orthodox rule, but the total effect is one that stems all progress and hems in the human character.

In the larger towns the picture is very different. There general education has had a disintegrating effect on the Ghetto life. A large number still maintain the old orthodox life, while others throw off all restraint and banish religion and superstition together. The poorer section grows ever more careless and a prey to the latest demagogue, while the rich seek to be assimilated in point of careless

luxury with their richer Gentile neighbours. They borrow much from their Christian surroundings, while disdaining the Faith which would provide the corrective for the weaknesses which their Ghetto training has engendered.

CHAPTER VIII

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The mother-tongue of the Eastern Jew is without doubt Yiddish. The name is derived from the Eastern Jew's pronunciation of the German word for Jewish, "Jüdisch."

It is the language he brought with him from the middle and south of Germany in the fourteenth century with many modifications. Its basis is therefore medieval German. The study of Biblical and Talmudical Hebrew has had a very great influence upon the language in vocabulary, construction, spelling, and pronunciation. Yiddish is an extraordinarily flexible language, for into it can be introduced with perfect ease any number of words from the language of the country in which the Jew lives. "Ich hob gecatcht a cold" is quite good Yiddish in England for "I have caught a cold." The first half is pure medieval German, then comes an English verb with a German prefix, and finally a purely English word.

The language of the country influences the Yiddish spoken in pronunciation as well as vocabulary. Thus there are differences of pronunciation of the "u" in Russian Yiddish, according as the Jew comes from Lithuania or Russia proper. The difference is in extreme cases so accentuated that some

Jews find a difficulty in understanding one another, even though they are both speaking Yiddish.

Yiddish has a large stock of Hebrew words and phrases, mostly taken from the religious life of the Jew. For instance, alms are always "Tsedookeh," a Hebrew word (*Tsedakah*) originally signifying righteousness; the yearly sacrifice of a fowl on the eve of the Day of Atonement is "Kapooreh schlugen" —that is, to kill (German) an atonement (Hebrew). The Hebrew greeting of "Peace be to you" is much used, and "Good luck" is always wished in its Hebrew form.

Taking it all together, Yiddish is the lingua franca of the Jew of Eastern Europe and to some degree of the wide world over, wherever Ashkenazim Jews are to be found. They justly call it "Mameh loshon"— a word composed of the German "Mama," mother, and the Hebrew "lashon," tongue. It is the language of millions, and many a long day will go by before it is replaced by the language of the respective countries in which it is used or by Hebrew. An effort has indeed been made by Eastern European Jews to make it the national language even in Palestine. It is only the fact of the existence of the large Spanish element and the Jews of various Eastern lands that has rendered their efforts futile. Anyone who would fully understand the Jew must know something at least of the literature of Yiddish and be able to converse with him in it.

It is, however, true that the Jews of the younger generation tend more and more to speak the language of the country in which they live. This is especially true of the richer families. In addition, they can

speak two or three other tongues acquired either for commercial purposes or by residence in other lands.

The latest development is the rejuvenation of the Hebrew tongue. As Zionism has spread, and the vision of a possible return to Palestine has drawn nearer, it has given a great impetus to the study of Hebrew as a living language. There are groups everywhere of young men and maidens who are diligently learning the sacred tongue. It is intensely interesting to note that just as Yiddish is beginning to be ousted by the language of the country, Hebrew is beginning to take its place as the link which will bind all Jews together with a completeness which Yiddish never did.

The Jews of South-Eastern Europe came from Spain, and brought the language of that country with them. They, too, have retained the language of the country of their exodus, and to-day still speak the Spanish of the Castille of the sixteenth century. It, too, has been largely influenced by Hebrew, and Hebrew religious words form a considerable element in its vocabulary. They are not, however, pronounced in the same way as among Yiddish-speaking Jews. For that the difference of language is largely responsible.

In previous centuries the literature of Yiddish was almost wholly religious and especially intended for women and the unlearned. For instance, the best known Bible work for women, the "Tse'enah-u-Re'enah" (a kind of collection of Talmudic tales illustrating the five books of Moses), the prophetical extracts, called the Haphtorah, and the short books included in the Megilloth, are in Yiddish. There are,

too, translations of the Jewish Prayer-Book written in it, as well as various prayers and rules and regulations. In the last century, however, there has been a great revival of Yiddish, and to-day it is a language in which dozens of daily newspapers and monthly magazines appear. Much of the best European literature has been translated into it, and many theatre plays are produced in it. It has a number of novel writers, and more than one poet. There are to-day English translations of some of its most striking productions. The Bible has been translated into it, both Old and New Testaments, and there is quite a considerable missionary literature. At one time there were some four or five monthly missionary magazines being issued therein. Even the Socialist and the Communist have laid hold of it as the channel of propaganda among the Jews. It is written in cursive Hebrew characters, though printed in the ordinary square ones, either with or more often without the vowel points.

The Spanish of the Spanish-speaking Jew has very little literature of any sort. There is a certain amount of religious literature; the Bible has been translated into it, and there are various missionary works. Though very many use it in daily life or as a kind of private business language, the number of those who can read or write it is steadily decreasing, and it is apparently slowly dying out. It is written and printed in a Rabbinic character, and not in the square Biblical letters.

But the pride of Eastern Jewry has been its devotion to Hebrew and Jewish theological literature. The Talmud, that monumental collection of discus-

sions on the Law in twelve huge tomes, has been issued in numbers of editions from the printing presses of the Pale. Many commentaries on the Law, both oral and written, as well as upon every other portion of the Old Testament, have been composed; one might almost say that the pride of every Jewish town and family was to produce a scholar who could write a commentary on the Scriptures. In later years with the revival of modern Hebrew a literature has grown up apart from the religious world. Classical authors have been translated and original works have been composed. With the establishment of a Jewish State and a University in Palestine a large increase in the available literature may be expected. There are already daily newspapers in Hebrew in Eastern European Jewry, and every fresh work is eagerly devoured. A publishing company with a very considerable capital for the express purpose of issuing modern Hebrew works is in existence.

CHAPTER IX

PHASES OF RELIGIOUS LIFE

For wellnigh two thousand years the Jews have been surrounded by traditions and observances which have moulded their character. The Rabbis of old judged rightly that the one link that would hold together a homeless people scattered throughout the world was their religion, and above all their adherence to the Law and its ceremonies. They therefore proceeded to erect what they justly termed a fence about the Law—outworks to defend the mere approach to the grand fortress. In this way there came into existence the Talmud, that strange mixture of sense and superstition, logic and folly, scholarship and folk-lore, on which the wits of Israel have been sharpened through the centuries. Its legal enactments, those of the oral law, were collected by Joseph Karo in the sixteenth century into the three volumes of the "Shulchan Aruch," or "Table Prepared," and numerous annotations having been added to this by Moses Isserles, of Cracow, it became the manual of the daily life of the Jew. This rules his life to the smallest particular, and has largely made him what he is. It has put immense power into the hands of the Rabbi, who is the final court of appeal in all divergences of interpretation.

The great mass of the Jews in Eastern Europe is still orthodox—that is, they are still adherents of this system. The system is a legal one, and has failed to assimilate the spiritual leading of the prophets and its Christian development. It has made the salvation of Israel dependent on the fulfilment of a round of ceremonies and observances. It has put a stop to all true progress, and thrown the Jew back upon the standpoint of Israel in the land of Canaan. His belief in God largely consists in an assent to the mathematical unity of the Godhead. His sense of sin is deficient. He reads the Ten Commandments, and says with a full belief in the truth of his words, "All these have I kept from my youth up." To have broken one of the many regulations of the oral law as to the dietary laws or the keeping of Sabbath is to him a far more serious matter. In the place of sacrifices he has erected a system of merit acquired by the fulfilment of legal and ceremonial minutiæ. Repentance, prayer, and almsgiving (all these understood in an external sense), coupled with good works and even death itself, are his atonement for sin on which he depends for acceptance with God. The outward ceremonial tends to leave the deepest recesses of his heart untouched, and sometimes enables him to be satisfied with a casuistry which avoids many of the inconveniences of the system, and leads him to adopt a strange moral standard in his business dealings.

Under this system the Jews still look upon themselves in the Old Testament light as the Chosen Race and all the rest of the world as more or less heathen, from whom they have to keep themselves separate

and who exist largely for their benefit. Their method of education is religious, and strives to confine its votaries to the study of the Law and the Talmud, using Yiddish as the medium of instruction, which has become almost a sacred language to them. In this way they seek to avoid the contaminating influence of the world and its teaching, and try to shut out the light of the knowledge which has been acquired in the Gentile world.

They thus become intensely proud and largely self-centred. Any sense of a mission to the world other than that of a silent and consistent witness to what they consider a higher truth is altogether foreign to them. There is no feeling of yearning sympathy for the ills and wrongs and needs of the world, no self-sacrificing love for mankind.

On the other hand, there is so much that is beautiful and true in the Orthodox Faith that anyone who studies it can but feel the keenest regret that the Jew should have been led away from that which would have made him the noblest character and the most capable minister to mankind.

But there is another phase of religious life in East European Jewry which is even more deleterious to the true advancement of the Jew. The orthodoxy of the Chassidim is still the straitest of the strait. The home of the movement is Galicia, but scattered bodies are to be found elsewhere. The movement which the Baalshem ("The Master of the Name," born about 1700, died 1761 A.D.) founded was in its origin a revolt against the legalism of the orthodox, a mysticism which finally led its devotees into fantastic extremes. In this development they have

become more legal than the legal, and much more completely under the hand of the Rabbi, to whom in the person of the Tsadik—the saint—they sometimes attribute almost divine powers. These Tsadikim live in great state, and are surrounded by a crowd of fanatical devotees, who make it their business to maintain the reputation of their leaders for sanctity and superhuman knowledge. They are the sworn enemies of all enlightenment and progress, and have a fatal effect upon the people, whom they keep in the bondage of ignorant superstition, and thus hinder all progress.

The orthodox party to-day, however, no longer holds by any means the whole field. Its power is waning from day to day. Even at the very centre it is far from being what it was, and where the Jews have been separated from the masses of the faithful it has lost very considerably. For many years there has been a growing party of reformers, who embrace every opportunity of acquiring Western learning, and are no longer under the hand of the Rabbis. But there are many stages before one reaches the Jew who frequents a synagogue which has an organ and electric light, and a preacher who uses the language of the country.

Beyond these, again, are an ever-growing number, who, having come in contact with Western thought, have seen the unreasonableness of the old superstitions. They have not stayed to ask after the deeper truths that underlie them, and have failed to differentiate between truth and falsehood. They equally fail to mark the consistency of the Christian development, and simply throw over faith along with

superstition, and strive to satisfy themselves with the latest philosophy of the day. They are the recruiting-ground for the extreme Socialist, the Communist, and the Anarchist.

The power of Judaism as a religious force to retain its adherents is rapidly on the wane, and were it not for the growing nationalism there would be every reason to expect a complete assimilation of the people within a measurable period. That, however, will never be, for the Jew is reserved for a work in the world which he will one day accomplish. Again the Divine Hand is clearly seen guiding the destinies of this, the Chosen Race.

The Orthodox Jewish Faith makes of the Jew a problem for the civilised and progressive Christian world. The Jewish unbeliever constitutes a distinct danger for the surrounding peoples. Both alike present a challenge to Christianity.

CHAPTER X

ZIONISM

It is largely the problem of the Jew of Eastern Europe which has given rise to Zionism, or at least has attracted the attention of many to it. What to do with these teeming millions shut up in their Ghettos, and suffering from ever-renewed outbursts of persecution on the part of the peoples of these Eastern lands, has been the constantly recurring question.

As long ago as 1840 Sir Moses Montefiore approached the Sultan with a view to the colonisation of Palestine. Laurence Oliphant in 1879 and 1882 endeavoured to get a concession for the same object. Through the efforts of Hess, who wrote "Rom und Jerusalem" in 1862, and Gordon, who wrote articles in his paper *Ha-Maggid* in 1871, the Chovevi Zion, or Lovers of Zion, was established. The result was the foundation of a colony in Palestine in 1874, though it was five years later before serious work was done on it. Conferences were held from time to time, and success seemed assured till the Turkish authorities in 1894 made Jewish immigration more difficult.

It was in the next year that Dr. Theodore Herzl, an Austrian Jewish journalist then living in Paris and brooding over Antisemitism, wrote his

famous "Judenstaat" (Jewish State.) In it he proposed the establishment of a Jewish State as the sole remedy for the ills from which the Jews in general, and especially those of the Pale of Settlement in Russia, suffered. It was Israel Zangwill who first introduced him to England. Leading Jews in Paris also took up the idea, notably Max Nordau and Alexander Marmorek. Dr. Herzl approached the question solely from the political and economic side, and hence it was viewed at first with disfavour by the Orthodox.

In 1897 the first Congress of Zionists was held in Basel, to which 204 delegates came from Jewries all over the world. In 1900 the fourth Congress was held in London, and in the following year Dr. Herzl approached the Sultan, but without success. It was at the fifth Congress in 1901 that an alternative to Palestine was suggested. Commissions were sent to the Sinai Peninsula and later to East Africa, but it soon became evident the Orthodox section would have none of any such proposals. It nearly wrecked the movement, and caused Herzl such anxiety that it materially hastened towards his death in 1904. In view of later events one can but see the hand of God in it leading His people back to their own land. The Jewish Colonial Trust, with its offshoot the Anglo-Palestine Company, and the Jewish National Fund were created for the purchase of land in Palestine and the development of the colonies.

As the years have gone by the idea of Zionism has caught on more and more among the Jewish masses until there is no land where there are not

branches of Zionist societies. Here again the Great War has wrought a fundamental change. What was previously to many only a dream of the future has taken definite shape, and since the Balfour Declaration of 1917 it has come within the range of practical politics. With the appointment of Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner of Palestine, the creation of a Jewish State has in some measure become a reality.

As has already been said (p. 45), the difficulties are many before Zionism is a panacea for the ills of the Eastern European Jew. Palestine proper is but a small country about the size of Wales, and it has been grievously neglected. It will be a long time before it can support a large Jewish population. Moreover, there are 600,000 Moslem Arabs in possession, who cannot be treated as the Canaanites of old, besides a large number of Christians. Still, Palestine will form another outlet for the suffering Jew, and in time possibly a considerable one. Moreover, it gives him a great hope for the future. Once really established the Jewish State may well be able to give valuable protection and help to the masses of Jews who must of necessity remain where they are.

The danger of Zionism lies in its purely material aim. Israel has not yet realised that the only reason for its existence is that it may be the messenger of God to the world. It is not yet content to be the servant of the world, for it has not yet learnt of Him Who said: "I am not come to be ministered unto, but to minister," and "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Therein lies the great danger, for

Israel desires to be a nation like other nations of the world, and persuades itself that it will be better and greater than they. This will inevitably lead to its being dragged into the turmoil of world politics. The Jew, with his great intellectual gifts, will be tempted to interfere in the affairs of other nations, and may readily dream of world dominion. This can only create trouble for the Jews themselves and fresh difficulties for the world.

For the present it is true that the Jews profess to be satisfied to be a nation once again, and to be the great example to the world of what a nation should be. But even if they were content to remain at that, it is not the purpose for which they were chosen, so marvellously maintained and finally reinstated.

It remains for the Christian world to remind the Jew of his mission, and to show him that it is only attainable by retracing his steps to the point where he rejected Christ. But in his ardent patriotism the Zionist sees in every Christian Jew and Christian missionary a traitor and an enemy to the race. He will welcome any Jew whatever be his religious opinions, or even if he is actively opposed to all religion, provided he has not been baptised. It is true that hitherto practically every baptised Jew has, from force of circumstances, ceased in the second generation to belong to the Jewish race. But this difficulty need not be felt as soon as there is a Jewish State, and Jewish citizenship can exist regardless of religious belief. The Hebrew Christian has been willing to remain nationally a Jew, and has applied for admission to the Zionist body, but so far the Zionists will not have him.

Zionism is to-day a living force in Eastern Europe, and bids fair to unite the Jew again just at the moment when emancipation and various disintegrating elements have threatened to lead to the extinction of the race. Thus marvellously does the hand of God ever control and maintain this people for His wise purposes. There are, however, opponents of Zionism even in Eastern Europe. The rich Jew, who has become assimilated as far as he can, has no intention of leaving the country where he is so comfortable and well off. Still, he is willing to take a mild interest in Zionism as a possible remedy for the ills of the poor. Some, it is true, go farther, and argue that the Jew should remain among the nations and speak of his mission to influence others. But they are very few in Eastern Europe.

A far more dangerous opponent is the growing body of Jews who are international Socialists of the militant sort, and at times revolutionaries, Bolshevists, and Anarchists. They dream of the world Republic of the Proletariat, whatever that may mean. They have usually thrown off all faith, and are outspoken atheists or pantheists, or what not. Restless and energetic, quick to grasp an idea and eloquent to clothe it in captivating speech, with a talent for organising, they rapidly rise to the top of any such movement. They have no use for Zion, unless it be to found a model Socialistic or Soviet Republic there and work for the world revolution. Besides, the international brotherhood of Jews in all lands makes them a valuable asset in the organisation, and a corresponding danger to their own

people and to the world. It is the cruel repression of the Ghetto and the Pale which has given birth to this monstrous growth, and therefore in some measure it is to be excused, but none the less it is a danger.

Eastern Jewry is being rent by contending forces which threaten to break up the unity of the Chosen People. Yet the call of land and history is loud and strong, and without a doubt it will rout all the forces massed against it. Moreover, the Lord God hath spoken; who can but hearken ?

CHAPTER XI

CHRISTIANITY AND THE EAST EUROPEAN JEWS

Until the nineteenth century the Jews of Eastern Europe had little contact with the Christianity of the Reformed Churches of the West. In Poland and Hungary the Roman Catholic Church was all-powerful, as was in Russia and the Balkan lands the Orthodox Church in its national branches. To understand the attitude of the Jew to Christianity it is essential to grasp the attitude of these two bodies to the Jew.

The Western Church in the Middle Ages looked upon the Jew as an adversary, and meted out hard treatment to him. Too often in the past it has been the offer of baptism or the sword. Every kind of means has been used to force the Jew to become a Christian. Every worldly inducement has been held out to him to forswear his faith. Under compulsion he has been forced to listen to Christian arguments. There has too often been a lack of straightforwardness in dealing with the relations of possible converts. The Inquisition and the expulsion from Spain are burnt deep into the soul of the race. The result has been on the part of the Jew a deep hatred of the name of Christ. Who can wonder at it? For how often has the Jew had to wander from the

land of his birth because of the fury of a mob egged on by fanatical priests.

Further, large numbers have passed over to a nominal Christianity, or have allowed their children to be baptised, in order to escape from the galling bondage to which they were subjected, or to participate in the advantages held out to them. Not a few of them have in the circumstances been converts merely in name, and have done their best to cover up their Jewish origin to please their new masters, or to escape from the common burden of Jewry. They have introduced a bad element into Christianity, and have sometimes earned the Jewish epithet of bad Jews turned into worse Christians. They have rightly reaped the scorn of their own people, and have made it ten times more difficult to win the Jew for Christ.

The Eastern Church has acted very much in the same way, with this difference, that whereas the Roman Catholic Church has had for many years to forgo the practice of using the secular arm or mob violence to destroy the Jews, the Eastern Church (in Russia at least) has continued the system of State repression and incitement of the mob up to the time of the great upheaval. The State may have been the greater offender, but the Church must bear its share of blame. The weapon of worldly inducement has been used to the utmost of its possibilities. To the Jew, who, as a rule, is acquainted only with the grosser popular forms of worship seen in the cult of image and eikon, both Churches seem to present a form of idolatry. And not infrequently in the East the lives of some of

the village priests and laity, with their lack of education and of a high moral standard, cause the religion they profess to be despised.

The system of Ghettos, of separating the Jews from others, has kept them from that contact with Christianity which might have led to their appreciating it better. When one realises how little the Jew knows of the true faith of his neighbours, one can readily understand the attitude of the Jew to the dominant religion. The literary efforts of the Roman Catholic Church in the early days were confined almost entirely to books which either grossly misrepresented Judaism or deliberately falsified its teaching. Fanatical or unprincipled converts, anxious to curry favour with their superiors and to show their zeal for their new faith, too often dipped their pen in gall and wreaked vengeance on their brethren who had cast them off and treated them with equal hatred and disdain. There were notable exceptions, and the early efforts of the Dominicans in Spain produced some noteworthy controversial works, especially Raymund Martini's "Pugio Fidei." The Eastern Church has not shown much literary activity, and, where it has, has too often supported such false charges against the Jews as the infamous "Blood accusation."

Even the Reformers were not in advance of their age, and, confusing economic and religious issues, and the proper distinction between the sin and the sinner, joined in abuse of the Jew, and recommended action which was far from the spirit of Christ and His Apostles. Luther himself, who in his earlier days had written very feelingly of them, in the end,

embittered by their opposition, preached the bitterness which hardens, and not softens, the culprit.

Still, the knowledge of the Bible and its teachings about the Jew forbade the Reformers ultimately to adopt such an attitude. Something was done in the way of literary effort; much was attempted in the way of preaching. In the eighteenth century missionaries sent out by the *Institutum Judaicum* of Halle, then under Professor Callenberg, reached Poland. Widmann and Manitius, and that wonderful man, Stefan Schulz, were the pioneers of the work. But this died out before the end of the century, and it was only some fifty years later that a really intensive work was first begun. Missionary societies were established in all Protestant countries, and these societies began to send out missionaries beyond the bounds of their own lands. Their eyes were naturally directed towards the country where the largest number of Jews lived.

The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews was founded in 1809, and sent out the Rev. Lewis Way on a visit of enquiry to Russia in 1817. As a result of his enquiries a station was opened in Warsaw in 1820, and to it was appointed that brilliant scholar and able missionary, Dr. Alexander McCaul. There were, however, difficulties with the authorities, and for a time he and his colleagues had to leave the Mission. Meanwhile they went to Posen, where they laid the foundation of a future Mission, and then proceeded to do the same at Cracow. Through the good offices of H.M. Ambassador, Sir G. Rose, recognition of the Mission was at length obtained from the authorities, and

a strong Mission staff was sent out to Warsaw. There was also a Hebrew Christian working at the time in the Pale of Settlement. In 1829 a station was opened at Lublin.

In spite of the Polish rebellion in 1830 the work still went on, and at one time there were nine missionaries in Poland. In 1834 a new station was opened at Kielce. The work was fruitful, and numbers were baptised both by the Mission and in the Protestant churches of the country. By 1847 there were four stations—Warsaw, Lublin, Zgierz, and Suwalki. The work was interrupted in 1846 by the second Polish Revolution, and in 1848 by the cholera.

The work in Russian Poland was brought to a premature close by the Crimean War. In 1854 the missionaries were obliged to leave the country. It was a sudden uprooting of the work of thirty-three years, during which as many as 361 Jews had been baptised. Strenuous efforts were made to get permission to reopen the Mission after the war, but without success, and Russian Poland remained closed to the work for twenty years. For all that period there was not one single Protestant missionary among the millions of the Pale of Settlement.

In 1875 the Warsaw Mission was reopened, permission having been at length accorded by the Russian Government. Soon after Dr. Ellis took charge, and with his assistants carried on a vigorous work, not only in Warsaw, but in many of the towns of the various provinces. Permission was, however, never again given for the opening of other stations.

A great deal of good work was done by other Missions; in Kishinev by Propst Faltin and Joseph Rabinowitz, and in Odessa, and later in Wilna, by the agents of the British Society. The Danish Society had a missionary in Lodz. Of late years the Mildmay Mission has endeavoured to open Bible depots in various places, and has supported Rosenberg's work in Odessa.

Various missionaries have from time to time visited Russia and held meetings among the Jews, without, however, anyone being sent out to follow up the work. The local Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Baptist communities have done a certain amount of work in giving instruction to Jews seeking baptism.

In the course of years there have been many baptisms, but when the number of the Jewish population is considered the amount of work accomplished seems infinitesimal.

In Prussian Poland a vigorous work was carried on for many years with Posen as a centre; a number of mission schools were established and missionary journeys undertaken. As education spread these schools were superseded by State schools. In view of the need of other fields it then seemed wiser to leave the Jewry of Prussian Poland to German Christians to evangelise. Theoretically that would seem to be right, but practically it has led to very little being done. The ordinary German Christian seems to have very little realisation of his duty to the Jew, and even the minister of the Gospel has but little understanding of the Jew and his peculiar needs. Germany is the home of Antisemitism, and

most German Christians seem to think their duty consists only in trying to ward off the evil influence of the Jew. Still, the Jew in Prussian Poland has at least had the opportunity of seeing what Christianity really means.

In Austrian Poland missionaries have been at work in Cracow and Lemberg since 1833. Extensive journeys have been made throughout the length and breadth of the land. The work, however, has been carried on under great restrictions. No meetings were allowed to be held, no mission hall could be opened, nothing done except personal conversations and a limited distribution of missionary literature. Such work necessitates a very large staff if it is to be effectual in reaching any large number. Sad to say, three or four men are all that have been available as witnesses to the 1,000,000 Jews of Galicia.

Something was attempted in Czernowitz and Stanislau by German and Danish missionaries among the 100,000 Jews of the Bukovina, but it was of a very indirect kind. On the one hand, work was carried on among Christians with the idea of deepening their spiritual life, so that they might eventually influence the Jews; on the other hand, an effort was made to win the Jews, but only to a kind of Christianised Judaism.

In Hungary the United Free Church of Scotland has been very active for many years. Its missionaries live chiefly in Budapest, but extensive missionary journeys have been made throughout the country. There are also workers of the British Society and the Hebrew Christian Testimony to Israel in the

capital. These, however, are as nothing among the 900,000 Jews of the kingdom.

In Bohemia, Prague, one of the oldest of Jewries, dating from A.D. 700, has been a centre of missionary work for many years on the part of Scottish missionaries, the British Society, and at one time the London Jews' Society. The work has not been wanting in good fruit.

Missionaries first reached Roumania in 1841, and settled in 1846 in Bucarest. In 1848 a school for Jewish children was founded. Under that veteran missionary, the Rev. F. G. Kleinhenn (1856-87), a system of colportage was established which covered the whole country and spread into the neighbouring kingdom of Hungary. In his day some of the towns with a large Jewish population had a resident missionary working under his direction. A mission hall was opened in the school and regular evangelistic services were held.

Three attempts at work for short periods were made by Scottish missionaries in Moldavia and also by the British Society. The Norwegian Church has had a Mission for some years in Galatz, with a flourishing girls' school. The Swedish Church had a small work for some time in Jassy, which has since been closed.

In Bulgaria there was once a small mission school, long since closed, and occasional missionary journeys have been made by itinerant missionaries. Otherwise nothing has been done for its 67,000 Jews.

In Serbia there has never been any permanent work, and only very occasional missionary journeys have been made.

In European Turkey there were three Missions, two Scottish and one English, working among the comparatively small number of Jews in Constantinople. There were schools in Haskeni and Galata, a home for enquirers, and reading-rooms and mission halls, as well as medical work. Much good work has been done and some faithful converts have been gathered in. Adrianople was for some years the centre of effort by the British Society. In Salonica and Monastir the Established Church of Scotland has done a successful work.

Looking back over the centuries one is driven to say that the Christian Church has no cause to be proud of its relation to the East European Jew. It has largely failed in its presentation of Christianity, and has engendered in him a bitter hatred for the name of Christ by its unchristian attitude. The Protestant section has a better record, and has done much to present a truer picture of the Christian Faith, but this has been on a scale altogether inadequate to the depth of the prejudices and the overwhelming numbers to be dealt with.

On the other hand, the Jew cannot be wholly exonerated for his attitude to Christianity. He has entrenched himself in his pride behind a fortress of misrepresentation and prejudice, and has for centuries refused even to consider the claims of Christianity. The New Testament or a tract has been an unclean thing to be destroyed without even reading, and all discussion with a Christian a thing to be avoided. His attitude, however, has gradually been changing. The demands of modern life have forced him into contact with a society

and literature at least outwardly imbued with something of the Christian spirit. He has been led to adopt much that owes its origin to Christian ethical teaching. In the more enlightened circles there has grown up a readiness to give Christianity a hearing, and to recognise in Jesus at least a great moral teacher. Some Jews have even gone so far as proudly to claim the conquests of Christianity in the heathen world as a result of Jewish genius. Still, the prejudices of the past and his pride of race prevent the Jew from acknowledging his mistake, and from accepting Jesus of Nazareth as Christ and Lord.

CHAPTER XII

PRESENT POSITION AND NEEDS

There is no field of Christian effort which the Great War has so deeply affected as the Jewries of Eastern Europe. The tide of battle has flowed to and fro across these unhappy lands, and has not yet ceased to trouble them. Great Russia is still in the throes of its upheaval; its Church lies prostrate and broken so far as corporate action is concerned, and its Jewries are dispersed and scattered abroad. The Jew has again suffered massacre and outrage at the hands of those who are called Christians, and by him looked on as followers of Christ.

It is still true that the Churches of these eastern lands are either doing nothing to win the Jew to Christ, or else that what they do is hindering rather than helping. It is therefore left to the Christian Churches of the West, and more especially to British and American Christians, to show the Jew what true Christianity means. The Churches of America have so far done nothing in this cause outside America, and there little enough. It remains, therefore, for the British Churches for the present to carry on the work.

There would be far greater hope of winning the Jew to take a different view of Christianity if only

the great Churches of the East and West, the Greek and the Roman, under whose influence the Jews are living, could be induced to adopt a more Christian attitude towards them. In the beginnings of work in the nineteenth century that pioneer of Jewish Missions, the Rev. Lewis Way, approached the rulers and Churches of one land after another in the interest of a more Christian feeling towards the Jews, and succeeded in stirring up their interest wherever he went. There is to-day a great need of a wise effort in this direction. It surely should be possible for the heads of the Churches, without seeming to interfere with the internal politics of other lands, with wise sympathy and a due appreciation of their difficulties, to urge upon the Churches of those lands more sympathetic relations with the Jews, and the active presentation of the Gospel to them. Much might also be done by the creation and distribution of suitable literature on the subject.

But meanwhile, till all Christians have been roused, let every effort be put forth to give the Jew everywhere at least an opportunity of knowing what Christianity is. The present position is sad in the extreme. In Poland, with its 3,000,000 Jews, the London Jews' Society's Mission in Warsaw has been reopened, and two or three scattered missionaries are working. Russia, with its 900,000 Jews, is, as far as we know, without a witness, and the Ukraine, with possibly another 3,000,000 Jews, is in much the same state. The smaller Baltic Republics, with close on 1,000,000 Jews, are also deprived of missionary agents. In Hungary Scottish

and other Missions are at work, with encouraging results. The admirable Scottish schools are still being carried on, though under great difficulties. The problem there is how to deal with the large numbers who have sought baptism since the Bolshevist upheaval. There is a great need of wise shepherding if they are to continue in the faith and be a credit to it. Jugo Slavia, Czecho Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Greece have either no one or scarcely anyone at work. In Greater Roumania, with now not far short of 1,000,000 Jews, the schools have returned to their pre-war numbers of 800 Jewish children under Christian instruction. The mission hall at Bucarest, with all its manifold activities, is again open, and colportage is being carried on. The Norwegian missionary has returned to Galatz, but the school is still closed.

Thus the total number of British workers among the 9,000,000 Jews in half of Europe is to-day perhaps twenty. Even before the war the number was not much larger. It is one of the strange features of Jewish mission work that, while large sums have been expended on the work among the less than 100,000 Jews of Palestine, so little interest has been taken in the needs of the millions of the East European Ghetto. It is true that it was largely due to the fact that work was not permitted, but still the limited possibilities were not grasped as they might have been, nor was any particular effort made to increase them.

When it is further considered that the Jews are very scattered, and a difficult people to approach and to convince, the number of workers is lamentably

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insufficient. It is true that there are many stretches of heathen land where the proportion of workers is still less, but there surely can be no comparison in the importance of the two sets of people. The Jew to-day is a force to be reckoned with second to none, both in the political and the religious world. Have not efforts been made to convince the reading public that the Jews are engaged in a great conspiracy, having for its object world dominion, and that they have gone a long way towards acquiring it? It is a fantastic notion, built up on a piece of Russian Antisemitic propaganda. Still, it all points to the unique influence of this people in the modern world. Their religious state must be of paramount importance to us. They will either be an immense danger to Christianity and to the world, or the greatest blessing possible. It is at our peril that we neglect them.

As we look at the small band of witnesses for Christ, we may well say: Is this all the response which Christian men can give to the claim of the Jew? After all, it is of the Jew that we have received our Lord and His Word. Are they not included among "the least of these My brethren"? Is it not the race which was chosen to be the channel of God's revelation to the world, and has been miraculously preserved in order to be to the Christian Church and the world as life from the dead? If we are tempted to feel an antipathy to the Jew, let the man of the world act on the principle of an eye for an eye, reviling for reviling, but let us Christians show the tender yearning of our Master who wept over Jerusalem, and of the great Apostle

who said: "My heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is that they might be saved."

There are signs of better days coming. The larger missionary societies have already begun a redistribution of forces on the lines of the greatest need rather than of sentiment and tradition. Overlapping is being avoided, and missions in districts where others exist are being closed, and the workers removed to more needy places. For the moment the disturbed state of Eastern Europe and the increased cost of missionary work have not allowed this field to feel the benefit of it. Only in Palestine little improvement has taken place. It is indeed a strategic centre, and now more so than ever, but sentiment is still allowed to condone most serious overlapping and squandering of much needed forces.

Something might be done to press others into the work. There are sections of the Anglican Church which do lamentably little for the evangelisation of the Jew. The great Christian bodies of America need to be roused. The interest and assistance of the great Churches of the Continent should be sought. The Churches in lands where there are few Jews might be urged to do more for the larger centres of Jewish population. A wise system of delimitation would give each an adequate sphere of work.

The attitude of the Jew to Christianity in Eastern Europe to-day is not easy to gauge. On the one hand, there is a breaking down of the barriers of restraint, and a readiness to read and hear anything and everything. This results in a strong wave of

infidelity and speculative unbelief, which rejects Judaism and Christianity alike. The task of Christian missions is thereby rendered more difficult, for they have to meet, first of all, the objections of a people naturally inclined to speculative thought before combating its age-long hatred and dread of Christianity.

There is, further, the ever-increasing number of Jews who have accepted Socialism or Communism as their creed, and are solely materialistic in their aims. They are ready to do honour to the Christian standard of morality as given in the Sermon on the Mount, while totally rejecting all the distinctive dogmas of Judaism and Christianity alike.

There is also the political Zionist, to whom the possession of Palestine has become the be-all and end-all of existence, who hates the missionary and the Hebrew Christian with a perfect hatred as traitors to the nation and adversaries of the national cause.

On the other hand, political Zionism has given birth to a more ardent orthodoxy, which seeks to defend itself against all incursions of adverse opinions from whatever quarter they may come.

The war and the consequent breaking down of the walls of the Ghetto have let loose forces, disintegrating forces, in Israel, of which the full power and effect cannot yet be estimated. To the Christian Church they constitute an earnest call to stretch out the right hand of fellowship, and to strive to give that help which the Jew in the hour of his weakness and distress so sorely needs.

To meet this there is a serious need of a fresh presentation of Christianity in missionary literature. There is a most excellent series of controversial works based on Scriptural lines for Jews who still hold to Talmudic teaching, but there is a great lack of a modern setting to the old arguments and of a treatment of subjects which are exercising the thoughts of the Jewish world, as, for instance, Christianity in relation to Zionism, Materialism, Socialism, Communism, Comparative Religion, Higher Criticism and kindred subjects. There is a need, too, of a wise selection of evangelical literature, which will touch the heart and conscience and not only the head. Most helpful of all would be a monthly magazine dealing with all these subjects in turn.

There is, finally, another most important consideration. The preaching of the Gospel to the Jew will have the effect of winning one here and another there to faith in Christ Jesus. They, however, will be of necessity—at least in the second generation—absorbed into the Gentile nations. But the Jews as a nation cannot be absorbed in the nations of the world. They have a future as well as a past, and they must be preserved for that future as a nation. Hence it is to a national conversion that we must look forward when all Israel shall be saved. It would surely be one step in this direction if a Church could be built up, consisting of Jews who would retain their Jewish nationality after baptism in the Christian Faith. This is not to be confused with the effort of some Jewish Christians to induce all

Jews who are baptised to keep the oral law and to retain their Jewish beliefs and ceremonies. That question has been settled once and for ever by St. Paul's teaching in the Epistle to the Galatians. Such a Church must first grow up in Palestine, where Jewish nationality will be a necessity not to be altered by a change of religious faith, and where Hebrew Christians of the second generation will be regarded as Jews. It might at first be greatly helped by the establishment of Hebrew Christian colonies, where converts could maintain themselves when cut off from their brethren. The Jew would then no longer be able to charge the Hebrew Christian with being a traitor to his race, nor would the Hebrew Christian have the sorrow of seeing his children grow up as aliens to his own people. Branches of such a Church could be in communion with the mother church in Palestine in all lands where the Jews are sufficiently numerous to form national minorities, such as in Poland, Russia, and Greater Roumania. Such branches might well be a leaven leavening the whole lump, and preparing the way for a national acceptance of Christ Jesus.

After twenty centuries of neglect let the Christian Church rise up and roll away this reproach, and repay the debt it owes to the race which was the appointed channel of mercy to the Gentiles. This is the hour of the Jew's supreme need as he stands on the highway of the world—on the brink of a new life. It is the hour of the world's danger and of the Church's opportunity. Let the Christian Church

give of its fulness and of its best to put into the Master's hand the instrument He is waiting for to complete the establishment of His kingdom in all the world. The question is still asked, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" Who will answer, "Here am I, send me"?

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